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France of 1914. Nations, especially nations homogeneous as is France, do not change over night. The French spirit has not changed. French economic life has suffered. The economic resources of France were all but destroyed by the war. The problem of reconstruction involves the commercial and social life of the nation. Over 1,300,000 of her youth have been killed and half that number permanently wounded. The war has brought material losses of approximately \$12,000,000,000 gold. Whereas the French debt was \$7,000,000,000, it is now \$60,000,000,000. The \$4,000,000,000 of loans in Russia are bringing no interest and may never be paid. The condition is similar in the case of another billion dollars loaned in various quarters of the Balkans. The depreciated franc has all but paralyzed the former international life of France. There is a deficit in the ordinary and extraordinary budgets for the current year of approximately one billion francs. The devastated areas which before the war produced one-fifth of the income from taxation have not as yet sufficiently recovered to be taxed. Based upon the per capita revenue, France is now taxed 19 per cent as against Germany's 12 per cent and the 8 per cent in the United States.

We judge it must be difficult for the French people to understand why, in the light of these facts, she should become the butt of so much criticism. If she is not to receive from Germany the sums agreed upon in the Treaty of Versailles, she cannot feel any injustice in her demand that Germany shall reconstruct her ruined industrial plants and put them at least as they were in 1914. The French people think with their brains. They know that they are face to face with a defeated enemy with a larger population than their own. They know that their country has been invaded five times since 1789. They long for peace. But they do not propose to put their heads willingly beneath the foot of a German *revanche*. The French people wish two things: They wish to feel secure along the Rhine, and they wish their ruined industries to be replaced. In the light of the fact that France stood between Germany and the rest of the world through five dreadful years, these demands do not seem unreasonable.

And yet the criticism goes on. Lord Curzon rises in his place to "warn" France against what he calls her "policy of isolation," when the one thing that France is aiming to achieve is co-operation.

When we think upon France, we may feel sure that when she acts as a nation the probabilities are that she is acting with care and foresight. Even the problem of her stationary population seems in fair way of solution. It is encouraging to be told that France has now twice as many marriages annually as were recorded before the war. There are now over 40,000 more births annually than in 1913, while there has been a marked decrease in

the annual number of deaths. She is producing as much wheat now as in 1913, the average yield per acre exceeding that of any other period in her history. During the first half of 1921 her exports exceeded her imports by nearly four million francs. French colonizing skill continues to be successful in Algeria, Indo-China, and French Morocco, no Irish, Egyptian, or India problems arising in any of these quarters.

We do not share M. Briand's fears of German aggression. As a matter of military technique Germany will not be able to attack France for a long time. But dispassionate observers cannot fail, under the circumstances, to understand the French psychology. In the light of the last eight years of French history, we can afford to be very patient with the people of France.

THE IRISH FREE STATE

UNDER date of January 7, 1922, the Dail Eireann, which, being interpreted, means Irish Conference, accepted the treaty, the text of which appeared in ADVOCATE OF PEACE for December. Thus, the oldest and most serious of Britain's quarrels seems about to be composed. In the language of the *Manchester Guardian*, "The impossible has happened." The Irish Free State is born. It is to have the rank in the British Commonwealth of the Dominion of Canada, with a parliament and executive, and with a governor-general appointed by Britain to represent the Crown. Members of the parliament of the Irish Free State pay their allegiance to the Irish Free State and pledge faithfulness to the King. Citizenship in Ireland carries with it citizenship in Great Britain. Ireland thus becomes one of the members of the British Commonwealth of States along with the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the union of South Africa. She accepts her share of debt and pension liabilities. The naval defense of Ireland remains with Britain, with the option, however, that after five years Ireland may share in her own coast defense. The defense army in Ireland must be proportioned to Great Britain's as Ireland's population bears to the population of Great Britain. Irish and British ports are to be open to the vessels of each. Whether or not Ulster is to come within the new State is for Ulster to decide. If Ulster enters she will retain her parliament and government; but in matters in which the Irish Free State has powers not possessed by the Ulster government these powers may, under certain safeguards, be exercised by the Irish Free State in northern Ireland. If Ulster refuses, a commission will determine her boundary. Ireland is not independent. She now becomes a self-governing member of the British Empire. She will be a member of the Imperial Conference.

Members of parliament elected for constituencies in southern Ireland were summoned and a provisional government was set up on January 10, with officers as follows: President, Arthur Griffith, founder of the Sinn Fein movement; Minister of Finance, Michael Collins; Minister of Foreign Affairs, George Gavan Duffy; Minister of Home Affairs, Eamon J. Duggan; Minister of Local Government, William T. Gosgrave; Minister of Economic Affairs, Bryan O. Higgins; Minister of Defense, Richard T. Mulcahy.

Of course, the question now is whether or not Ireland's enemies have been right in saying that she has not the capacity for governing herself. The prospects are not altogether bright. The ancient animosities will not disappear in a day. Lord Carson and his followers see in the whole business nothing but treachery and cowardice. When it appeared that the Dail was to elect Griffith as President, Eamon de Valera and his followers

walked out in protest. From the reports we gather that de Valera is now pursuing obstructionist tactics. Technically, de Valera appears to be correct in his statement that the Dail Eireann is representative of the Republic and of nothing else. But Griffith announces that the Dail Eireann will continue to exist until the Irish Free State is set up. Griffith will proceed on the theory that the Republic of Ireland remains in being until the parliament of the Free State is duly elected by the people. The fact seems to be that the Dail Eireann represents the Republic and that the new President is President of the Dail. The Republic will continue in being until such time as the Free State can operate in its newly elected parliament. Thus bloody revolution gives way to reason—and the war is won around the table at 10 Downing Street. The course of British Empire, headed by Mr. Gladstone of another generation, has reached its inevitable goal.

THE CONFERENCE NEARS ITS END

Since the last issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* was issued the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments has reached agreement, in the Naval Committee, on the major naval question of capital-ship reduction, has settled nearly all secondary questions, and, as this issue goes to press, appears to be about to meet in plenary session for the submission of the Naval Treaty.

Details of each action will be found in a naval article that follows and that gives the daily progress of the committee handling naval affairs. Suffice it to state here that in order to give Japan the *Mutsu*, her great new battleship, the capital-ship tonnage figures for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan were revised somewhat, with relatively slight increases, but the 5-5-3 ratio was preserved. Under the revised plans the number of ships to be scrapped was increased from 66 to 68, but the ships that remain will have rather more power than under the original Hughes plan. Subsequently France and Italy were given 1.75 each as their capital-ship ratio in relation to the 5-5-3 ratio for the three big naval powers.

It was found impossible to reach an agreement on limitation of submarines, owing to French objections to less than 90,000 tons. It also was impossible to limit auxiliaries because of French objections. But agreements were reached for restatement of the old rules of war affecting submarines and for extension of the rules, as between the five powers, to prevent submarine attacks on merchantmen. Arrangements also were made to limit the size of guns to be carried.

Another outstanding agreement reached in the Naval Committee was that poison gas should not be used in any form, in case of war as between the five naval powers, and that the other nations would be invited to give their assent, and so to make the rule international law. Still another agreement, which was related to the agreement on capital-ship reduction and tonnage, was that the *status quo* should

apply to Pacific fortifications, except those in Japan proper, Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific coast of Canada, and the Pacific coast of the United States, in which was included Hawaii. Difficulty has been had in putting that agreement into form for the treaty.

Nothing was done toward abolishing the use of aircraft in war, although Secretary Hughes stated in the Naval Committee that it was generally recognized that aerial warfare probably will be one of the most formidable forms in the future. The reason was that experts reported that attempts to abolish aeronautics in war would retard greatly development of the science in civil life, and the leaders of the Conference were drawn to the same conclusion. It is expected a commission will be named to formulate rules to govern aerial warfare.

In Far Eastern affairs, the negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese delegations, that had been started when the last issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* was issued, are still under way. They were broken off once. The Chinese delegation sought the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, which had been tendered when the direct negotiations were inaugurated, but the Japanese refused to ask the good offices of the two leaders. The latter, therefore, were unable to act formally, but the understanding has been that they made compromise suggestions unofficially relating to the major issue at stake, control of the railroad in Shantung. Direct negotiations were resumed and both the American and British delegations have stated their belief that one of these compromise proposals will be accepted very shortly.

An account of actions taken in other Eastern matters will be found in the separate article on the proceedings of the Far Eastern Committee. Briefly, agreements have been reached as to post-offices, customs rates, wireless stations, Chinese neutrality, the open-door policy, and other similar interests. A treaty for the protection of China is now being drafted.